

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ROME 16087 01 OF 02 080323Z

63

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 056842

O 061215Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4032

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 16087

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY BUTZ AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUFFUM
FROM MOREY-PAARLBERG

FODAG

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: FAO, WFC

SUBJECT: ELECTION OF FAO DIRECTOR-GENERAL

SUMMARY: DELEGATION ASSESSMENT OF FAO DIRECTOR GENERAL
RACE IS THAT THERE ARE ONNLY THREE CANDIDATES WITH ANY
CHANCE SUCCESS. IN LIKELY ORDER OF STRENGTH THESE ARE
SAOUMA (LEGANON), AQUINO (EL SALVADOR) AND HOPPER
(CANADA). DELEGATION JUDGMENT IS U.S. SHOULD SUPPORT
HOPPER ON FIRST BALLOT FOR REASONS OUTLINED BELOW AND
HAVE DISCRETION RE VOTING ON SECOND AND SUBSEQUENT
BALLOTS DEPENDING ON ANY NOTICEABLE SHIFTS IN VOTES AND
EXPECTED WITHDRAWAL/ELIMINATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. PREDICTING OUTCOME OF FAO DG RACE IS FILLED WITH
SAME PROBLEMS AS ASSESSING AN AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTY
CONVENTION. PARTICULARLY A CONVENTION WHICH HAS MORE
THAN ONE VIABLE CANDIDATE AND WILL ALL CANDIDATES COLLECTIVELY
CLAIMING SUPPORT FAR IN EXCESS OF NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS.

2. ON CONSIDERING FOLLOWING ANALYSIS, DEPARTMENT SHOULD
NOTE BALLOTING THROUGHOUT VOTING IS SECRET. ALL CANDIDATES
ARE ELIGIBLE STAND THROUGH FIRST TWO BALLOTS, WITH LOWEST
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ROME 16087 01 OF 02 080323Z

CANDIDATE BEING DROPPED AFTER SECOND AND EACH SUBSEQUENT

BALLOT. THERE IS A POTENTIAL OF 135 VOTES (SIX COUNTRIES HAVE ARREARAGE PROBLEMS) SO MAJORITY VOTE REQUIRED FOR ELECTION WOULD BE 68 IF ALL COUNTRIES VOTED. ASSUMING NO CREDENTIAL OR OTHER SIGNIFICANT DELAYS, FIRST BALLOT SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY A.M. NOVEMBER 10. SECOND BALLOT PLANNED FOR P.M. SESSION AND THIRD, IF REQUIRED, COULD COME MONDAY EVENING.

3. AFTER TAKING SOUNDINGS WITH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRY DELEGATES, SECRETARIAT PERSONNEL AND LENGTHY CONVERSATIONS WITH TOP THREE CANDIDATES, SAOUMA OF LEBANON, AQUINO OF EL SALVADOR, AND HOPPER OF CANADA, THE PICTURE SEEMS TO BE AS FOLLOWS. ON FIRST BALLOT, SAOUMA COULD GET BETWEEN 50 AND 55 VOTES, AQUINO APPROXIMATELY 30, AND HOPPER 20 TO 25. OTHER CANDIDATES STILL IN RACE - OKUNIEWSKI OF POLAND, OJALA OF NEW ZEALAND, AND SEY OF GHANA - MAY TOGETHER OBTAIN TOTAL OF 20 VOTES.

4. THE WESTERN EUROPEAN AND OTHER GROUP (WEO) IS DIVIDED AND, IN PART, NON-COMMITTED. FRANCE, BELGIUM, ITALY AND JAPAN HAVE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED IN FAVOR OF SAOUMA. THE FRG WILL GO WITH HOPPER ON THE FIRST BALLOT WITH NO COMMITMENT TO HIM BEYOND. UK WILL SUPPORT HOPPER, AT LEAST ON FIRST BALLOT, BUT WILL MAINTAIN TRADITION OF NOT PUBLICLY ANNOUNCING THIS SUPPORT. AMONG THE NORDICS, DENMARK WILL SUPPORT HOPPER, AT LEAST ON FIRST BALLOT WITH SWEDEN, FINLAND AND NORWAY NOT COMMITTING THEMSELVES. THE NETHERLANDS BELIEVED TO LEAN TOWARDS HOPPER BUT WILL NOT STATE INTENTIONS. SPAIN SEEMS TO BE ONLY WEO COUNTRY PUBLICLY KNOWN TO BE IN AQUINO CORNER; HOWEVER, HE CLAIMS AUSTRALIA AND PORTUGAL AS WELL. AUSTRALIA SUPPORTING NEW ZEALAND CANDIDATE ON FIRST BALLOT BUT IS UNCOMMITTED SUBSEQUENT BALLOTS AND WISHES CONSULT U.S. BEFORE SECOND BALLOT COMMENCES.

5. THE BASE OF SUPPORT FOR SAOUMA IS THE ARAB LEAGUE AND THE LARGER CONFERENCE OF ISLAMIC STATES WITH ONE OF THE PRIME SUPPORTERS IN THIS AREA BEING SAUDI ARABIA. THE SAUDIS HAVE ASSURED US THAT RECENT PROBLEMS IN LEBANON AND THE FACT THAT SAOUMA IS A CHRISTIAN LEBANESE HAS NOT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ROME 16087 01 OF 02 080323Z

WEAKENED THE RESOLVE OF THE ARAB STATES AND THEIR GOVERNMENT IN PARTICULAR TO ELECT SAOUMA. THE SAUDI ARABIAN AMBASSADOR MADE IT CLEAR THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS INVESTED HEAVILY IN THIS ELECTION. MOST RECENT EXPRESSION OF ARAB SUPPORT WAS RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY 20 MEMBERS OF ARAB ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE IN BAGHDAD, OCTOBER 14-17. NOT ONLY DID CONFERENCE ENDORSE SAOUMA BUT IT ALSO AGREED COORDINATE EFFORTS TO ELECT HIM.

6. ASIA AND PACIFIC SUPPORTERS OF SAOUMA INCLUDE JAPAN, PRC, PAKISTAN, INDIA (PROBABLE), BANGLADESH, PHILIPPINES (FIRST BALLOT), AND SRI LANKA. IN THIS REGION, OJALA HAS FIRM SUPPORT OF HIS GOVERNMENT AND FIRST BALLOT SUPPORT AUSTRALIA AND FIJI PLUS SEVERAL UNNAMED POSSIBILITIES. HOPPER FEELS HE HAS GOOD CHANCE WITH SEVERAL COUNTRIES THIS AREA BUT ONLY COUNTY HE NAMED WITH POSSIBLE SECOND BALLOT SUPPORT PHILIPPINES.

7. IN LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN REGION, AQUINO CLAIMS SOLID SUPPORT. WHILE HE CALAIMS REGION WILL REMAIN WITH HIM BEYOND FIRST BALLOT, IF THERE ARE DEFECTIONS THEY WILL PROBABLY BE COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA GOING TO HOPPER. WITH REGARD SAOUMA, AND PARTICULARLY IF HE HAS OVERWHELMING LEAD AFTER FIRST BALLOT, MOST LIKELY DEFECTIONS WOULD BE PANAMA, MEXICO, PERU, ECUADOR AND BOLIVIA.

8. AFRICA COULD WELL BE KEY TO ELECTION. DESPITE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF HIS GOVERNMENT, SEY (GHANA) HAS YET TO BE WITHDRAWN OFFICIALLY. SAOUMA SAID, AND CANADIANS CONFIRMED, THAT WHILE GHANA RECOGNIZES IF HAS NO CHANCE, IT IS PLAYING HARD TO GET IN HOPES OF DISUADING ONE ARAB COUNTRY (LIBYA) FROM OPPOSING A CHANIAN IN THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. IN THOSE COUNTRIES WITH MOSLEM INFLUENCE, SAOUMA IS CLEARLY THE CHOICE. HE ALSO IS EXPECTED TO DO WILL IN FRANCOPHONE COUNTRIES. HOPPER'S BEST CHANCES SEEM TO BE IN EAST AFRICA AND WITH SMALLER COUNTRIES LIKE LESOTHO, SWAZILAND, BOTSWANA, TOGO, AND MALAWI. TANZANIA, ACCORDING TO HOPPER, WILL MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT IN HIS BEHLAF IN NEXT FEW DAYS. ETHIOPIA HAS ALREADY DONE SO.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 ROME 16087 01 OF 02 080323Z

9. SOCIALIST BLOC CANDIDATE (POLAND) MAY OBTAIN MAXIMUM SIX VOTES. AFTER FIRST BALLOT THESE VOTES EXPECTED TO GO TO AQUINO OR SAOUMA. IF EXPENDITURE OF ENERGY AND MONEY AND CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION EVIDENCE CAN BE USED TO PREDICT RESULTS, SAOUMA IS CLEARLY THE WINNER THIS ELECTION, PARTICULARLY IN HIS USE OF ARAB AND AFRICAN SUPPORTERS INCLUDING GUINEA (WHICH CURRENTLY LEADS FAO EQUIVALENT OF G77). THE SECOND MOST ENERGETIC CAMPAIGN APPEARS TO BE HOPPER WHO HAS ATTEMPTED OVERCOME OBVIOUS DISADVANTAGE OF LATE START AND IS FORCED RELY SOMEWHAT ON "ENCOURAGEMENT" FROM COUNTRIES EARLIER COMMITTED. AQUINO SEEMS TO BE HAVING DIFFICULTY EXTENDING SUPPORT BEYOND LATIN AMERICA. WITHIN HIS OWN REGION, HE IS HURT BY INDEPENDENT CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL BULA HOYOS (COLOMBIA) WHO IS CAMPAIGNING OPENLY FOR SAOUMA AND WHO IS ABLE INFLUENCE SOME LATIN AMERICAN PER-

MANENT REPPRESENTATIVES.

NOTE: NODIS CAPTION DELETED, HANDLED AS EXDIS PER STATE
MRN 263212 11/06/75

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 ROME 16087 02 OF 02 061359Z

41

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 026574

O 061215Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4033

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 16087

NODIS

FOR SECRETARY BUTZ AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUFFUM
FROM MOREY-PAARLBERG

FODAG

10. ONE CAVEAT WHICH MUST BE ADDED TO ABOVE IS THAT
IN DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT MADE
BY LOCAL PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES TO FAO AS OPPOSED
TO SUPPORT IN CAPITALS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TROUBLE-
SOME IN ANALYZING AFRICAN ATTITUDES.

11. POSSIBLE SCENARIOS WE ENVISAGE ARE:

- (A) MOST LIKELY - SOUMA WILL BE CLEAR LEADER ON FIRST
BALLOT WITH BETWEEN 50 AND 60 VOTES, FOLLOWED BY
AQUINO AND HOPPER. WITH MOVEMENT OF POSSIBLE SCAN-
DINAVIAN, AFRICAN, LATIN AMERICAN AND ASIAN VOTES
TOWARD SAOUMA ON SECOND BALLOT, HE COULD BECOME WINNER
ON SECOND AND PROBABLY NO LATER THAT THIRD BALLOT.
- (B) NEXT LIKELY - SAOUMA FALLS SHORT OF 50 VOTES ON FIRST
BALLOT WITH AQUINO SECOND BY 10 TO 15 VOTES AND HOPPER
TRAILING SAOUMA BY APPROXIMATELY 20 VOTES. FIRST BALLOT
WOULD THUS DEMONSTRATE SIGNIFICANT SPLIT WITHIN G77

AND DEPRIVE SAOUMA OF BANDWAGON EFFECT. ON SUBSEQUENT BALLOTS, SAOUMA PEAKS AND AQUINO CONTINUES TO GAIN AND ULTIMATELY WINS IN SHOWDOWN BETWEEN DEVELOPING COUNTRY CANDIDATES. THIS AND FOLLOWING SCENARIO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ROME 16087 02 OF 02 061359Z

COULD BE AFFECTED BY ANY DEAL MADE BETWEEN AQUINO AND HOPPER. IF A DEAL WERE MADE THE FLOW OF SUPPORT WOULD BE MORE LIKELY IN FAVOR OF AQUINO THAN VICE VERSA.

(C) LEAST LIKELY - SAOUMA FAILS TO MAKE EXPECTED STRONG SHOWING ON FIRST BALLOT AND FALLS SOMEWHAT SHORT OF 50 VOTES. HOPPER SHOWS UNEXPECTED STRENGTH ON FIRST BALLOT AND IS EVEN OR SLIGHTLY AHEAD OF AQUINO. SECOND BALLOT DEMONSTRATES CONTINUED SPLIT G77 VOTE BETWEEN SAOUMA AND AQUINO AND HOPPER BEGINS BENEFIT FROM SHIFT OF VOTES OF THOSE COUNTRIES BENEFITING FROM CANADIAN ASSISTANCE AND WILLING MAKE BREAK IN SECRET BALLOT FROM OBVIOUSLY DIVIDED G77 BLOC.

RECOMMENDATIONS

FIRST BALLOT - WITH NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF HOW WE VOTE, U.S. SUPPORTS HOPPER.

RATIONALE: BECAUSE OF TRADITIONAL TIES, GENERAL EXPECTATION OF CANADA THAT U.S. WILL SUPPORT ITS CLOSE NEIGHBOR, (INCLUDING RECENT REQUEST THAT U.S. SUPPORT BE USED WITH SELECTED LDCS), TECHNICAL EXPERTISE OF HOPPER AND POSSIBLE BENEFIT OF HAVING FRESH APPROACH FROM OUTSIDE U.N. SYSTEM.

SECOND AND SUBSEQUENT BALLOTS - IF AFTER FIRST BALLOT IT APPEARS HOPPER HAS SIGNIFICANTLY LESS SUPPORT THAN AQUINO OR SAOUMA, I.E., A GAP OF 15-20 VOTES FROM LEADER, DELEGATION BE GIVEN ADVANCE AUTHORITY TO SUPPORT CANDIDATE APPEARING HAVE BEST CHANCE ON SECOND AND, IF NECESSARY, SUBSEQUENT BALLOTS AND ADVISE CANDIDATE PRIVATELY OF OUR SUPPORT BEFORE VOTING.

RATIONALE: SHOULD TEST OF BALLOT PROVE HOPPER HAS NO REAL CHANCE, PROLONGED SUPPORT FOR HIM WOULD GAIN NOTHING FOR US AND COULD BE INTERPRETED AS UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT AN LDC CANDIDATE. DIE-HARD SUPPORT FOR HOPPER MIGHT MAKE SENSE IF HE WERE CLEARLY THE ONLY QUALIFIED CANDIDATE BUT SUCH IS NOT THE CASE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ROME 16087 02 OF 02 061359Z

EXPERIENCE IN RECENT YEARS IN SELECTING EXECUTIVE HEADS IN ILO, IMCO AND PARTICULARLY UNESCO INDICATES THAT U.S. SUPPORT MADE KNOWN TO CANDIDATE IN ADVANCE OF VOTE FOSTERED RAPPORT AND FAVORABLE WORKING RELATIONSHIPS FOR U.S. CASE OF UNESCO ESPECIALLY DEMONSTRATES THAT SELECTION OF LDC EXECUTIVE HEAD DOES NOT NECESSARILY LEAD TO FAVORITISM OF LDC'S AT EXPENSE U.S. INTERESTS. RATHER THAN APPEAR OPPORTUNISTIC, A SHIFT OF U.S. VOTE FROM CLEARLY UNSEUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE AFTER FIRST BALLOT COULD BE INTERPRETED AS MOVE TO CLOSE RANKS AND GIVE LIKELY WINNER WIDE SUPPORT HE WILL REQUIRE DURING SUBSEQUENT SIX YEARS IN HEADING ORGANIZATION AND ASSIST HIM IN LIMITING CONFRONTATION BETWEEN DC AND LDC FACTIONS. ADDITIONALLY, IT MIGHT HELP PROTECT U.S. HELD SENIOR POSITIONS IN BOTH FAO AND WFP.

12. PLEASE ADVISE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. CALINGAERT

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, ELECTIONS, ELECTION CANDIDATES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 NOV 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ROME16087
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750388-0905
From: ROME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751168/aaaacinf.tel
Line Count: 298
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27 MAY 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <17 OCT 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ELECTION OF FAO DIRECTOR-GENERAL SUMMARY: DELEGATION ASSESSMENT OF FAO DIRECTOR GENERAL
TAGS: PORG, US, FAO, (HOPPER), (AQUINO), (LEGANON)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006